

19 April 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: George A. Carver, Jr.

SUBJECT : Vietnamese Communist Negotiating Proposals
(1969 - 1972)

1. From the commencement of the Paris meetings in January 1969 until early autumn 1972 (when the DRV began negotiating seriously) the Vietnamese Communists tabled a number of negotiating proposals that reflected their hardline and intransigent settlement position. Both in the semi-public forum of the weekly Paris meetings and in the private meetings between U.S. and North Vietnamese officials, the Communists sought to achieve two primary objectives:

A. The suspension of U.S. military activities in Vietnam and the total, unilateral and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces; there were no firm provisions either for a simultaneous cease-fire or an exchange of prisoners.

B. The overthrow of the government of South Vietnam by the United States and the imposition of a coalition government that would be controlled by the Communist side and their supporters.

2. Dr. Henry Kissinger, in remarks made before a press conference on 26 January 1972, eloquently summarized the Communist's negotiating position in the following terms:

"There are two issues, one is the withdrawal, the other is the political evolution.

"With respect to the withdrawal,. . . the North Vietnamese position is that we should set a date, that we will implement

it, regardless of whether there is a prisoner exchange, regardless of how they negotiate their own proposal. In other words, that we should get out unilaterally.

"Moreover, they define withdrawal not just as the withdrawal of American forces, but the withdrawal of all American equipment, all economic aid, all military aid, which is, in considering the fact that they receive from \$800 million to \$1 billion worth of aid from their allies, a prescription for a unilateral turnover.

"On the political evolution, our basic principle has been a principle we have been prepared to sign together with them, that we are not committed to any one political structure or government in South Viet-Nam. Our principle has been that we want a political evolution that gives the people of South Viet-Nam a genuine opportunity to express their preferences.

". . . The North Vietnamese position has been that they want us to agree with them first, on replacing the existing government and secondly, on a structure in which the probability of their taking over is close to certainty.

"They want us, in other words, to do in the political field the same thing that they are asking us to do in the military field, to negotiate the terms of the turnover to them, regardless of what the /South Vietnamese/ people may think."

3. Attached to this memorandum are excerpts from the principal Communist negotiating statements made during the period 1969-72. They include the following:

1. The 8 May 1969 NLF 10-Point Statement
2. The 17 September 1970 2-Point "Clarification"
3. The 10 December 1970 2-Point Cease-Fire Statement

4. The 26 June 1971 DRV 9-Point Proposal (made at a private meeting)
5. The 1 July 1971 PRG 7-Point Proposal
6. The 2 February 1972 PRG 2-Point Government Statement



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